

## Message Text

SECRET

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42

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2583

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0176

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: COMMENTS ON "ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE" (SALT TWO-636)

REF: STATE 096944

1. REF PARA 1 REFTEL, FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF DRAFT STATEMENT:

QUOTE MR. MINISTER,

I. DURING THE COURSE OF THE EXPOSITION OF OUR RESPECTIVE DRAFTS OF A NEW AGREEMENT, WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AREAS IN WHICH WE APPEAR TO BE IN AGREEMENT AS WELL AS AREAS WHERE WE HAVE DIFFERING VIEWS. ONE SUCH AREA OF DIFFERENCE CONCERNS MISSILES WITH RANGES GREATER THAN 600 KILOMETERS ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS. ARTICLE VIII OF THE SOVIET DRAFT WOULD BAN AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE GREATER THAN 600 KILOMETERS ON ALL AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS. AS YOU ARE AWARE, IT IS THE US VIEW THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974 CONCERNING AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES APPLY TO BALLISTIC MISSILES ONLY.

II. AN EFFECT OF ARTICLE VIII OF THE SOVIET DRAFT WOULD

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BE TO BAN AIR-MOBILE INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE

SYSTEMS. THE ISSUES RAISED BY SUCH A BAN ARE COMPLEX AND RELATED TO THE BROADER ISSUE OF STRATEGIC AIRCRAFT AND THEIR ARMAMENTS, AS WELL AS TO OTHER TYPES OF MOBILE INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES.

III. IN THE INTEREST OF NARROWING DIFFERENCES AND MOVING NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD, THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO EXTEND THE AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILE (ASBM) PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT TO APPLY TO ASBM'S LAUNCHED FROM ALL AIRCRAFT, NOT JUST THOSE LAUNCHED FROM BOMBERS, IF THE SOVIET SIDE IS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE VIII OF ITS DRAFT. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ADOPTION OF SUCH AN APPROACH WOULD CONSTITUTE AN EQUITABLE RESOLUTION OF OUR DIFFERENCES IN THIS AREA. UNQUOTE

2. I HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THIS STEP WITHIN THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK, BUT BELIEVE THAT IF WE ARE TO DO THE MAXIMUM TO FOCUS MOSCOW'S ATTENTION ON THIS IMPORTANT ISSUE DURING THE RECESS IT WOULD ALSO BE DESIRABLE THAT IT BE ACCOMPANIED BY SOME STATEMENT ON CRUISE MISSILES. AS WASHINGTON KNOWS, I FEEL THAT MAKING THIS MOVE ON BALLISTIC MISSILES INEVITABLY OPENS UP ISSUE OF CRUISE MISSILES AND IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO INCLUDE A STATEMENT ON CRUISE MISSILES, IF IT CAN BE FRAMED IN A WAY THAT WILL SERVE TO ADVANCE TOWARD DEVELOPMENT OF OUR PREFERRED END POSITION.

3. RE PARA 2 REFTTEL, I QUESTION WHETHER WE SHOULD MAKE SUCH AN APPROACH AT THIS TIME. BY "RATIONALE" FOR THIS APPROACH, I PRESUME WASHINGTON HAS IN MIND THAT ALL THE OBLIGATIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE I.A. WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE UPON ENTRY INTO FORCE OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. THIS POSITION IS CLEARLY INHERENT IN OUR DRAFT, AND I HAVE TOUCHED ON SUBJECT WITH SEMENOV. HOWEVER, NOW SPECIFICALLY TO RAISE IT WOULD INTRODUCE ANOTHER COMPLICATION INTO PRESENT STAGE OF OUR NEGOTIATIONS ON VERIFICATION IN GENERAL AND MIRV VERIFICATION IN PARTICULAR. I SEE NO REASON WHY WE SHOULD NOT FOR THE PRESENT CONTINUE TO FINESSE SUBJECT.

4. RE PARA 4 REFTTEL, POSITION IS OF COURSE UNEXCEPTIONAL,  
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BUT I WONDER WHETHER IT MIGHT NOT BE BEST TO DEFER TABLING THIS UNTIL WE ALSO TABLE OUR POSITION ON NON-TRANSFER TO WHICH IT IS SUBSTANTIVELY RELATED.

5. FYI ONLY PLENARY MEETING SCHEDULED FOR THIS WEEK IS FOR TUESDAY, APRIL 29, AND SOVIETS WILL BE TAKING A HOLIDAY FROM MAY 1 FOR REMAINDER OF WEEK. THE ONLY PLENARY WE NOW HAVE SCHEDULED FOR FOLLOWING WEEK IS FOR WEDNESDAY, MAY 7.

OF COURSE I CAN ALSO SCHEDULE AN EARLIER PLENARY FOR  
MAY 5 OR 6.JOHNSON

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NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
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**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MEETING AGENDA, INSTRUCTIONS, AGREEMENT DRAFT, SALT (ARMS CONTROL)  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 28 APR 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
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**Disposition Reason:**  
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**Review Date:** 19 JUN 2003  
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